

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

No. 27.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1908.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free.)

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Articles and news contributed for insertion in "Votes for Women" should be sent to the Editors at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper. The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested where stamps for postage are enclosed.

Subscriptions to the paper should be sent to The Publisher, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

The terms are 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 1s. 8d. for one quarter, post free, payable in advance.

The paper can also be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

For quotations for advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

The N.W.S.P.U. is taking an active part in the by-election in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and is pursuing its recognised policy of opposition to the nominee of the Liberal Government. As is frequently the case, the first meeting was somewhat uproarious. Mrs. Pankhurst had a difficulty in obtaining a hearing, but the great crowd which

gathered round her platform was a proof of the interest which the Suffragettes have aroused, and which they have invariably proved themselves able to convert into active sympathy before the close of the campaign. We look forward to interesting developments at this by-election as time goes on.

The Educational Work.

Concurrent with the by-election the more ordinary educational work of the Union has commenced in every part of the country. The two London "At Homes" on Thursday and Monday last were attended by large numbers of people, and give promise of extended interest during the coming months. In Bristol Miss Annie Kenney writes to say that owing to the popularity of the weekly gatherings larger halls have had to be engaged for the purpose, and from different parts of the country similar reports come to hand. The first great demonstration of the autumn was held in the Rawtenstall Valley, when upwards of 10,000 people were present in the afternoon, and listened with attention to the speeches from five platforms, while in the evening an enthusiastic indoor meeting was held in the theatre. This demonstration will shortly be followed by others, on the Durdham Downs, Bristol, on September 19, and in Huddersfield on September 27.

Women Political Prisoners.

During next week all the women who are at present suffering three months' imprisonment in Holloway Gaol for taking part in the demonstration on June 30 will be released from prison, and a hearty welcome by numerous friends is assured them. Those intending to take part in this welcome will find all particulars on pages 437 and 440. We printed last week a letter comparing the treatment of women political prisoners in this country with that of men in Russia, and drawing a conclusion by no means favourable to the British Government. On another occasion we drew attention to the fact that the women were treated far worse than Mr. Ginnell, who during his imprisonment in Ireland in connection with cattle driving, has been allowed, while in Kilmainham Gaol, to write a book on the subject, and to publish the same. This week we reproduce an extract from a book by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, from which it will be seen that this is not the first occasion on which a Liberal Government have treated women political prisoners far worse than they have treated men. The case is that of the Irish Land League agitation in the eighties. Mr. O'Connor shows that while the men prisoners were sentenced under the Coercion Act, and allowed to have communication with each other for six hours out of every day, and to conduct their business, and even plan their campaign, the women were sentenced under an old statute of Edward III., and were treated as common criminals. A full perusal of the extract shows that the same excuses were made in that day as are being made at the present time, and that the whole policy of the Government was directed towards breaking down the spirit of the women and did not succeed. This differential treatment has not received the notice that it merited, but the Liberal Government of the present day will find that their action will not be similarly forgotten, but will be regarded by a future generation with the contempt which it deserves.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

FROM A MAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

It is man's fault and the country's misfortune that women have had no Parliamentary vote for 76 years. They lost the right to vote because they trusted the men, and neglected to guard their rights when the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed. They have not regained the vote because, until we heard of the militant women, they have not fiercely insisted that they want it.

I have attended Women's Suffrage meetings, and heard women mildly explain why they ought to have the vote, and the good they will do when they get it. This is purely academical. Woman is too reasonable on the Suffrage question. To a man it is merely a matter of business. I get the vote because I am an owner and occupier of rateable property; and I am still waiting to know why an exception should be made in the case of the occupier who is a woman.

I met a lady this week who has been for 15 years the successful proprietor of a large boarding house. I thought, "Here is a Suffragette." No! She knew nothing of politics. She left politics to the men. Fancy a man refusing to be interested in a thing because he doesn't understand it. Wise men! We never give the show away. Do we refuse to travel in a railway train, or electric car, because many of us do not understand the mechanism of the steam engine, or electric traction? Do we refuse to send wireless telegrams because only a few of us can explain the Marconi system? We are satisfied if some of us know. For the same reason the 70,000 illiterate men on the present Parliamentary registers of the United Kingdom do not refuse to vote. They vote as directed, or as they please, and no one proposes to take the vote from them.

Brother and Sister.

I often ask the question: Do women realise what little intelligence men require to send a member to Parliament? I am one of those who have more Parliamentary votes than my share, at least, I think so, as long as the women are without. I never asked for a vote. I passed no examination, like some of the University graduates, to get it. I found when I was 21 that I was the half-owner of a little freehold. That was enough. The officials gave me the vote. The other half-owner was my sister. That was enough to refuse it to her, when she was 21, because she was a woman. Afterwards, I went into business and paid office rent. Another vote. In a year I did so well that I married, and my wife and I set up house. Of course, I was given a third vote for that. My conscience never troubled me whether I was wise enough to exercise the vote. No one ever suggested it to me, although possibly when I voted Liberal the Conservatives had their doubts about it. Why should it trouble a woman whether she understands politics or not? How many men do we know who are really politicians? I didn't get three votes because I was a politician, but because I owned rate-paying property in one place, and occupied rate-paying property in two other places.

At election times I looked around. Were the voters left to themselves, like sheep without a shepherd? On the contrary, we were admirably shepherded. Candidates spent a lot of money to guide us. They issued long printed addresses, which few voters read, and none remembered. They called upon us, and were most friendly. If they could do anything for us in Parliament, they would be only too delighted. Then came speeches galore, and election colours: Liberal, red; Conservative, blue. What could be simpler? A child could understand.

The voter, before he entered the polling-station, was given as a specimen voting paper a red card, or a blue card, containing the candidates' names, with a big cross marked against the name of the candidate for whom each of the parties wanted

him to vote. So little does the average voter understand politics, that he always votes for the same party—the same colour he calls it; he does not, as a rule, turn his coat; consequently, party votes neutralise one another, and the turn-coat turns the scale. When the voter enters the polling-station he gives his name to a clerk at a table, who compares it with the printed register and ticks it off, to indicate that he has voted, and gives him a ballot-paper. He is then directed to go to an enclosed desk where, with a pencil provided for the purpose, he puts a cross on the ballot-paper against one of the names, if one M.P. has to be elected, or a cross against each of two of the names, if two M.P.'s are to be elected; or he may plump for one only. Then, having folded the paper so that nobody sees for whom he has voted, he puts it in the ballot-box, and his vote is recorded.

He has by this simple operation done what it is said women are physically and mentally incapable of doing. There is one remedy; if they feel their deficiencies, they can stay away. A large number of the men always do.

Henceforth let women no longer, like Milton's guardian angels, stand and wait. Let them tell men they know the game of politics, and can play it, too. They have found us out. We are not the wiseacres we pretend to be. Remind us, and particularly Cabinet Ministers at home and travelling abroad, in season and out of season, that the vote is exercised by marking a cross, and that all women who are occupiers of rateable property can mark a cross against a candidate's name on a ballot-paper. Remind us that we ordinary voters are not called upon to exercise even the intelligence of selecting and nominating a candidate. The candidate packs his bag and comes. The candidates are all, more or less, representative men, selected by their political parties, and nominated by local supporters.

Remind us that you women who possess the necessary qualification have for a long time been voting in this way for the election of guardians of the poor, for parish councils, for borough councils, for county councils, and so useful have you proved yourselves to be that you are now eligible to sit on these various councils, and are doing citizen's work alongside the men. Demand from us men whether we can point out a single instance in which our interests have suffered in any way through the municipal votes given by women. Insist that to the municipal vote shall be added the Parliamentary vote. It is a question of practical politics. Let mere academical discussion of the subject cease. It has been going on fruitlessly for 40 years. You women are being robbed. You are paying rates, and get no Parliamentary vote in exchange.

No Vote Without Militancy.

Militant women, indeed! I am proud to see you have the pluck to be militant. You will never get the vote without. Can you women imagine for one moment what we men would do if we had a Bill before Parliament to give us the common rights of citizenship, the right to be raised above criminals and lunatics, a Bill which, on February 29 last, actually passed the second reading in the House of Commons by a majority of three to one? Can you imagine what men would do if the Premier refused absolutely to set aside a day for the Committee stage and third reading of our Bill, notwithstanding that, on his own admission, two-thirds of the Government are against him? Women, pause here, and insist on the answer, *What would men do?*

Do you suppose that, if the Government dared to deal with men in this manner, they could brutally imprison over 300 when they voiced their demands? Thank God there are many men in the country like the Haggerston voter who said to Mrs. Drummond, "I have been a Liberal all my days, but I shall not vote for a Government which imprisons women because they ask for a vote. That is a disgraceful thing in liberty-loving England. Tell me, missus, what to do for your cause, and I'll go to gaol myself." When men go to gaol it will be on a more serious charge than breaking two panes of glass or shouting Votes for Women.

W. W. H.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XXIV.—*The Married Woman's Charter of Personal Liberty.*

In March, 1891, came the important legal decision in the "Jackson" or Clitheroe case, which the *Law Times* described as the married woman's charter of personal liberty.

This was the case of a lady living with her sister at Clitheroe, who, when 42 years of age, left the house (on the morning of November 5, 1887), and was married to a Mr. Jackson, of Blackburn, without informing any member of her family of her intention. She came home with her husband in the evening, but he left her and returned to Blackburn the same night, going from thence to London in the morning, and sailing for New Zealand within a few days. Mr. and Mrs. Jackson corresponded for a short time after this, and subsequently quarrelled; and when, in 1888, Mr. Jackson returned to England, his wife refused to have anything to do with him. He therefore commenced proceedings for the restitution of conjugal rights, and obtained a decree in July, 1889.

Now, it had for many years been customary to punish by imprisonment either the husband or the wife who refused to obey the decree of the Matrimonial Court for the restitution of conjugal rights, and there are cases on record of women who have been deprived of their liberty owing to this cause, and who, rather than return to their husbands, have remained in prison for many years, and sometimes even until the day of their death.

Kidnapped His Wife.

By the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1884, however, this power had been taken from the Courts, and so Mr. Jackson determined to take the law into his own hands. Therefore, on Sunday, March 8, 1891, he kidnapped his wife as she was coming out of church, and carried her off to a house in Blackburn, where she was kept a prisoner. The house was closely guarded, and no one was allowed to enter or to leave it without Mr. Jackson's sanction. Those whom he permitted to do so did not go by the ordinary ways, but were let down by ropes from the windows. The necessary provisions for the household were also drawn up by the same means. When Mr. Jackson left the house on one occasion seven men were brought in to garrison it in his absence.

Mrs. Jackson's doctor and lawyer both tried in vain to communicate with her, but she was seen by her sister at a window, when she cried out, begging to be released and taken home, and appeared to be greatly agitated and in deep distress.

In the Court of Queen's Bench, on March 16, Mrs. Jackson's relatives applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* to oblige her husband to bring her before the Court, in order to restore to her her liberty.

It was pointed out on her behalf that Mrs. Jackson was kept by her husband under lock and key, and denied all communication with the outside world; that she was prevented from seeing her doctor, and that there was reason to fear that her health, and even her life, might be seriously endangered by this confinement, and that, even if she were treated with the grossest cruelty, she would have no means of stating her case and thus obtaining relief, because she was denied access to everyone, including even her legal adviser.

Yet, in spite of all this (and of the fact that so long ago as 1869 Lord Penzance, in the case of *Kelly v. Kelly*, had recognised the restraint and confinement of a wife by her husband as legal cruelty), the application was refused, and it was decided that nothing that Mr. Jackson had done could be held to be illegal.

The case was retried next day before the Court of

Appeal, where it was heard by the Lord Chancellor (Lord Esher) and Lord Justice Fry. The previous decision was now reversed, and a writ of *habeas corpus* was granted.

In answer to this writ, Mr. Jackson appeared before the Court with his wife on the following March 19.

On his behalf it was now urged that not only did the English law give a husband the right to imprison his wife, but to beat her with a stick no thicker than his thumb.

After counsel on both sides had been heard and the Judges had spoken privately with Mrs. Jackson, in order to satisfy themselves that she was acting as a perfectly free and independent agent, the Lord Chancellor delivered his judgment. He said that Mr. Jackson's case rested upon the assumption that if a wife had wilfully absented herself from her husband's house, the husband had the right to seize his wife by force, and to detain her in his house until she rendered him conjugal rights. He was not prepared to assent to this. Parliament had deprived the Court of all power to imprison a wife for refusing to obey its decree for the restitution of conjugal rights, and even before that power had been taken from it the Court had never been allowed to hand the wife over into her husband's hands. If this assumption were agreed to, it would mean that though the Court could no longer do so, yet of his own motion the husband would have the power to seize and imprison his wife until she consented to render him conjugal rights. "I am of opinion," continued the Lord Chancellor, "that no such power exists in law. I am of opinion that no such power ever did exist in our law."

"No English subject has a right to imprison another English subject,"

and

"There is no power by law such as the husband professes to exercise."

Thus finally and authoritatively the Lord Chancellor clinched his judgment. Lord Justice Fry concurred, and Lord Esher added that if it were the law that a husband had the right to take away his wife's liberty, she would be—

"An abject slave to his will, a mere chattel."

But that was not the law of England, he said, and never had been.

Result of the Decision.

The Lord Chancellor now announced that after this declaration of the law against the supposed power of a husband to imprison his wife, any attempt to exercise it would be serious contempt of Court.

To-day it seems as though it would have been impossible for the Judges in the Court of Appeal to decide otherwise than they did, but on reviewing similar cases tried about the same time, one wonders whether, if Mr. Jackson had striven to attain his object in a less sensational manner, and with less of mediaeval barbarism, the decision might not have been different; for, in spite of Mr. Jackson's violent methods, which had horrified the Court, and which Lord Esher had characterised as grossly insulting and brutal, there were many magistrates who disagreed with the decision, and who showed this by their subsequent obstructive procedure.*

(To be continued.)

* In the following April Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy addressed a series of valuable and interesting letters to the *Manchester Guardian* upon the Clitheroe case decision, and the position of married women generally. These were afterwards reprinted and 10,000 copies of them were circulated in pamphlet form. As an outcome of this she formed, in October, 1892, the Women's Emancipation Union, with the object of securing the political, social and economic independence of women.

MARY PHILLIPS.

Mary Phillips is not to be released on September 16, when her four comrades are set free. She is to have two days' more imprisonment. Why? For trying to send out a little reassuring note of comfort to her mother, who was, she feared, fretting with anxiety about her.

Mary Phillips is the only child of her parents. Her mother is frail of health, though so strong of spirit that she cheerfully gives up her daughter to the movement which lies very near to her own heart. The bond of union between them is very strong. "I only wanted to tell her I was quite well and quite jolly, and that she must not worry, but keep well till my release," said Mary Phillips to me when, as I described in my article of last week but one, I saw her in prison. She was not in any way concerned or perturbed by the punishment. In fact, she seemed altogether forgetful and regardless of self. She only seemed to care about the progress of the movement and to rejoice in the fact that Suffragettes were "all good stickers." I wrote the same night that I saw her to the dear mother in Scotland, and received an answer, which I have since obtained permission to publish:—

DEAR MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE,—Very many thanks for your beautiful letter and for the loving act which prompted it. It has cheered us both exceedingly, and we cried with joy over it. Yes, we are proud of her courage and determination not to be daunted by opposition. We should indeed be ashamed if she gave in for trifles in the cause which we feel to be the most necessary to the present day, and I pray earnestly that success soon may come. I do hope to live to see it. My husband and I are living in the anticipation of our meeting, and the pleasure also of attending some of the "At Homes." I wish I had more strength that I could work for the cause, but I am, unfortunately, quite an invalid. With every good wish for the noble work.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. FLEMING PHILLIPS.

Mr. and Mrs. Phillips will meet their child at the prison gates, and will ride with her in the carriage to Queen's Hall, and they will share with their courageous daughter the more than royal welcome which our hearts accord to friends so loyal, so brave, and so true.

E. P. L.

T. P. O'CONNOR ON THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT AND IRISH WOMEN.

Extracts from "The Parnell Movement," by T. P. O'Connor.

The proceedings taken against women did, perhaps, more than anything else to expose the savage character of the régime it now established, and to create the fiercest popular passion. A number of ladies had taken up the work of the organisation as it fell from the hands of the men whom Mr. Forster had sent to gaol. What that work was will presently appear. Against several of these ladies the Chief Secretary ordered legal proceedings. The method of these proceedings was characteristic of a nature at once coarse, clumsy, and savage. In the reign of Edward III. a statute was passed against prostitutes and tramps. It was under a statute like this that young ladies, brought up tenderly and delicately, were tried, and such of them as were convicted were condemned in sentences which cannot be described as lenient.

Huts were erected by the Ladies' Land League for the purpose of sheltering the evicted, who, as will be presently seen, were reaching at this point numbers that startled and shocked and terrified the whole country. Mr. Lloyd insisted that the huts were for the purpose of intimidation, and not for shelter, and arrested and sent every person to gaol who was engaged in their erection. Against women he was at last allowed to have plenary powers. He sent Miss McCormack to gaol for six months; he sent Miss Reynolds to gaol for six months; he sent Miss Kirk to gaol for three months. Of course, he always denied that he imprisoned these women at all. All he did was to ask them to promise to keep the peace, and he sent them to gaol in consequence of the refusal. But he knew, and everybody knew, that no man or woman could, with a particle of self-respect, or with any hope of retaining the respect of any of his or her people, submit to any compromise with the brutal tyranny that was then desolating their country.

Other magistrates, fired with noble envy of Mr. Lloyd's exploits, also made war upon women. Mrs. Moore was sent to gaol for six months, and Mr. Becket sentenced Miss Mary O'Connor to six months' imprisonment.

Two extracts from the reports of Hansard will complete this part of the picture. When Mr. Forster's attention was called to any of the brutalities of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, this was how he answered:—

When an action is taken up by a magistrate, it is done on his own responsibility, and it would be a most serious matter to sup-

pose that I, as representing the Executive, have power to interfere with the action of the magistrates.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the historical student that this answer of Mr. Forster is the repetition of a trick venerable in the history of despots. The magistrate, who is the tool and the creature of the Government, who carries out its wishes and behests, is represented as a perfectly independent judicial functionary, with whom the Executive would not, and even dare not, interfere.

A second extract from Hansard will describe the treatment to which the ladies were subjected who were sentenced to be imprisoned by Mr. Clifford Lloyd and the other magistrates.

Mr. Labouchere asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is true that Mrs. Moore, Miss Kirk, and Miss O'Connor, who have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment under an ancient Act for alleged intimidation by different stipendiary magistrates, are kept in solitude for about twenty-three hours out of twenty-four; and whether the time has arrived when, in the interests of the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, these ladies should be restored to their friends?

Mr. Trevelyan: Sir, the ladies named in this question have been committed to prison in default of finding bail, and are treated in exact conformity with the prison rules; and, according to the rules for "bailed prisoners," they are allowed two hours for exercise daily, and are, therefore, in their cells for twenty-two out of twenty-four hours. They can at once return to their friends on tendering the requisite sureties.

Thus it will be seen that these women were suffering far more severely than the men arrested under the Coercion Act. The prisoners under the Coercion Act were allowed to have communication with each other for six hours out of every day. The young ladies sentenced by Mr. Clifford Lloyd were in solitude throughout the entire day. In the prisons in which they were placed there were none but the degraded of their own sex, and sometimes the young ladies attended their devotions in close proximity to the prostitutes and thieves of their district.

Women's Citizenship and Women's Punishment.

A woman is not considered equal to the responsibility of citizenship, or even to the responsibility of the position and rights of parenthood during the lifetime of the man to whom she is legally married. But the same law that holds her unfit for the responsibility of privilege holds her far more responsible than it holds a man for any failure of the duties of citizenship or of parenthood.

To realise how much more severely women are punished than men who are charged for the same offence it is necessary to personally attend a police court. There it is demonstrated every day now and then the briefest possible report creeps into some out-of-the-way corner of a newspaper. We quote two cases that occurred during the past week:—

"A dreadful story of child neglect and starvation was told at Brentford Police-court yesterday, when Eliza Tyler and Samuel May were summoned for neglecting four children. The male defendant was in a good position a few years ago at the L.C.C. Asylum at Hanwell, but was dismissed through his own fault. The woman was sent to prison for six months and the man for six weeks."

"Holding that she was responsible for the neglect of her child, although the latter was living with her grandparents, the Chatham magistrate yesterday sentenced Annie Shaw, a widow, to a month's hard labour."

To women who know something of the hard life of the widow who must work for a wage that no one would dream of offering to a man, while fulfilling the duty of both bread-winner and child tender at the same time, such a sentence as the one we have quoted suggests the thought that there is an urgent need to put our police courts under the jurisdiction of women as well as men.

Votes for Women in Mid-Atlantic.

An earnest debate on the subject of votes for women took place on board the s.s. *Virginian*, from Montreal and Quebec to Liverpool, when the vessel was in mid-Atlantic. The debate was conducted in the saloon, Captain the Hon. A. C. Murray, M.P., presiding. Miss Isabel Seymour (N.W.S.P.U.) stated the case for the women, and the opposer was Mr. G. R. Parkin.

Mrs. Lilian Tillard, of Westwood, Southborough, has had a leaflet printed, "Life in Prison"—to be sold per 100 at cost price—to enlighten people who imagine Holloway is all beer and skittles!

N.W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The feature of next week will be the welcome accorded to the prisoners on their release from Holloway Gaol. A full description of the prospective arrangements on these days—September 16 and September 18—is given by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in her article, "The Autumn Campaign," on page 440 of this issue. Every friend should be at the prison gates at eight o'clock on Wednesday, September 16, to welcome Miss Haig, Miss Joachim, Miss Howey, and Miss Wentworth. All those claiming the privilege of drawing the carriage should communicate at once with Mrs. Drummond, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

The other men and women joining in the procession will, it is hoped, walk behind the carriage, but for the convenience of those unable to walk the whole distance—about two and a-half miles—brakes will be provided. Tickets, 9d. each, can be obtained of the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. One of the large banners will be used in the procession, and gifts of flowers are asked for for the ex-prisoners' bouquets, as well as for decorating the carriage. These must be in the colours of the N.W.S.P.U., with ample foliage; and as purple heather is both suitable and lasting, any quantity of this may be sent. The autumn flowers lend themselves well to the N.W.S.P.U. scheme of colour, and purple and white asters, dahlias, chrysanthemums, &c., are all suitable for the purpose. Flowers sent by post must reach Mrs. Drummond, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., *not later than the six o'clock post on Tuesday, September 15*, or as much before that time as convenient, as the start from Clements Inn on Wednesday morning is early, and some of the decorating will be effected on Tuesday afternoon. Any flowers left over will be used for table decorations at Queen's Hall.

The Release of Miss Phillips.

Similar arrangements apply to the release of Miss Phillips on Friday, September 18, when a special Highland welcome will be given her, and her carriage, in which will also ride her father and mother, will be drawn by a team of Suffragettes.

The Breakfasts.

Breakfast on each day will be served at the Queen's Hall at 9.15 a.m. Friends are urgently requested to take tickets, price 2s., from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., *at once*, in order that proper arrangements for accommodating the guests may be made. We are specially anxious to know the numbers by Saturday, first post.

Mrs. Lawrence, in the absence of Mrs. Pankhurst in Newcastle, will be in the chair at the breakfasts, and speeches will be delivered by the ex-prisoners and others.

After the breakfast the procession will be re-formed, and the prisoners will be drawn in their carriage by the Suffragette team to Clements Inn.

"Votes for Women" Newspaper en route.

Volunteers are wanted to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN on the way from Holloway to Queen's Hall. Names of those willing to help in this way should be sent in at once to Mrs. Drummond, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Reception for ex-Prisoners.

A special reception has been arranged for Friday, September 18, from 8 to 10 p.m., in the large Portman Rooms, Baker-street, when it is hoped that all the prisoners recently released from Holloway will be present. Hospitality is being kindly provided by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

The Caxton Hall Meeting.

A special meeting of women is being held in the Caxton Hall on Tuesday evening, October 13, at 7.30. Tickets, price 1s. reserved, 6d. unreserved, can be obtained of the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Women willing to act as stewards are requested to communicate with Mrs. Drummond.

The Albert Hall Meeting.

Tickets for the Albert Hall meeting for women on Thursday, October 29, price 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., can be obtained of the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Five hundred women will be wanted as stewards. Please send names to Mrs. Drummond.

The Woman's Press.

A new leaflet, "Why We Protest at Cabinet Ministers' Meetings," by Christabel Pankhurst, has been issued by the

Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Price, 9d. per 100; 6s. per 1,000, post free.

Owing to the large sale of regalia, it has been found possible to reduce the price from 2s. 6d. to 1s. 1d. each. Orders should be sent in early.

The Woman's Press has also on sale brooches representing Boadicea driving her chariot, which can be had at 3s. 6d. each. Motor scarves can now be obtained in two sizes, prices 2s. 1d. and 4s. 1d.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to September 25 (as far as at present arranged).

Sept. 10	Bristol, Wills' Factory Bristol, Portland Square Kingston Infirmary, Nurses' League Wolverhampton, 1, Tettenhall Road Clifton, Durdham Downs Manchester, Miles Platting Wolverhampton London, "At Home," Portman Rooms, Dorset Street Harrogate	Miss Annie Kenney, and others Miss Christabel Pankhurst Miss Keevil Miss Annie Kenney Miss Keevil, Miss Kate Brewster Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst Miss Mary Gawthorpe Miss Annie Kenney and others Miss Keevil, Mrs. B. Smith Miss Annie Kenney, and others	12.15 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 3.30 p.m. 3.30 p.m. 7 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 12.15 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 2.30 p.m. 3 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 8-10
Fri. 11	Bristol, Wills' Factory Clifton, Durdham Downs Iston, Witton Road Bristol, Horse Fair Clifton, "At Home," Hannah More Hall Manchester, "At Home," Onward Buildings Winscombe	Miss Mary Gawthorpe Miss Annie Kenney and others Miss Keevil, Mrs. B. Smith Miss Annie Kenney, and others	12.15 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 2.30 p.m. 3 p.m. 8 p.m. 8-10
Sat. 12	Manchester, "Lifeboat Saturday" Manchester, Stevenson Square	Manchester Members	4-6
Sun. 13	London, Parliament Hill Cipham Common Battersea Park Gateshead, Small Heath Park Gates	Manchester Members Mrs. Bowyer, Dr. Rose, Miss Auld, Miss Winifred Auld Mrs. Bartlett, and others Mrs. Drummond, Miss Cameron Dr. Helen Jones	7 p.m. 3 p.m. 3 p.m. 6 p.m.
Mon. 14	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home," Baker Street Clifton, Hannah More Hall Forest Gate, Earlham Hall Birmingham, "At Home," 49 Bristol Street St. Helens, Open Air Meeting	Miss Annie Kenney Miss Keevil, and others Miss Keevil, and others Miss Keevil, and others Miss Keevil, and others	3-5 4 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Tues. 15	Bristol, Wills' Factory Willenhall	Liverpool W.S.P.U. Miss Annie Kenney, and others Miss Keevil	7.30 p.m. 12.15 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 a.m. 9.15 a.m.
Wed. 16	Release of Prisoners, Holloway Queen's Hall, Complimentary Breakfast	..	3 p.m. 7 p.m.
Thur. 17	Bristol, Durdham Downs Hammersmith, Down Place, King Street Wolverhampton, 1, Tettenhall Road	Miss Annie Kenney Miss Howse and Miss Naylor Miss Keevil, Dr. Helen Jones	8 p.m. 8 p.m. 3.30 p.m.
Fri. 18	Dudley, Market Place Clifton, Durdham Downs Edmonton London, Portman Rooms, "At Home," Dorset Street Leeds, Rowland Road School Holloway, Release of Miss Mary Phillips Complimentary Breakfast, Queen's Hall Wolverhampton, Stretford Road Schools Bristol, Horse Fair London, Reception of Released Prisoners, Portman Rooms, Baker Street Manchester, "At Home," Onward Buildings	Miss Keevil Miss Annie Kenney Miss Higgins Miss Christabel Pankhurst Miss Keevil Miss Keevil, and others Mrs. B. Smith Miss Annie Kenney, and others Miss Keevil ..	7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 a.m. 9.15 a.m.
Sat. 19	Bristol, Durdham Downs, Demonstration	Miss Adela Pankhurst Mrs. B. Smith Miss Annie Kenney, and others Miss Mary Gawthorpe 8-10
Sun. 20	Manchester, Stevenson Square Bromley, St. George's Literary Society	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, Miss Keevil, Miss Dorothy Pethick, Miss Brackenbury, Miss Douglas Smith	4 p.m.
Mon. 21	Bristol, Bishopston, David Thomas Memorial Church	Mrs. Pankhurst	3-5
Tues. 22	London, "At Home," Portman Rooms, Baker Street Bristol, Victoria Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney	4 p.m.
Wed. 23	Bristol, Horse Fair Wolverhampton, 1, Tettenhall Road	Miss Annie Kenney, and others Miss Keevil, Miss Ryland	7.30 p.m. 3.30 p.m.
Thur. 24	Clifton, Durdham Downs Hammersmith, The Grove, Beaufort Road Wolverhampton Hove, Ventnor Hall	Miss Mackay, Miss Berlon Miss Keevil, Miss Ryland Miss Macaulay, Miss Evelyn Sharp	3 p.m. 7 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Fri. 25	West Kensington, 8, Edith Road Clifton, Durdham Downs London, Portman Rooms, "At Home," Dorset Street Clifton, "At Home," Hannah More Hall Manchester, "At Home," Onward Buildings	Mrs. McLeod Miss Annie Kenney Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst Miss Annie Kenney, and others Manchester Members	4-6 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8.10 p.m.

In addition to the above, a great number of by-election meetings are being held in various parts of Newcastle every day.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Huddersfield (Demonstration)	Sept. 27
Caxton Hall (Women's Meeting)	Oct. 13
London, Albert Hall (Meeting)	Oct. 29

HOW WE SPENT OUR HOLIDAYS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR.—In this small, quiet village of Braemar, 18 miles from the nearest railway station, 300 or 400 people come in search of health or pleasure. What a field for recruiting! No hasty escape possible from the Suffragette. The beautiful glens, the glorious air, the feeling of rapidly returning health make the horrors of sweating and slumland ever present to one's mind. When I heard that our beloved leader Mrs. Pankhurst could come here a meeting was hurriedly arranged. Numbers of people became enthused, and one lady from Hastings sold 18 tickets. The hall was filled to overflowing, and the audience were deeply interested. Many men and women explained to me that they had never realised the real value of a vote.

I enclose a cheque for £6 to the funds. We could have sold double the number of tickets if we had arranged for it.

Yours, &c.,

M. D. MACDONALD.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR.—I am sure it will interest you to know that on a week's walking tour in Normandy my sister Flora and I encountered at Beauvais a French Suffragette in a draper's shop; when she saw our badges she asked us how we were getting on. It was rather

thought of the hundreds of sweated women and starving children working in factories, and of the terrible stories one reads of the sufferings of women. I told her that Christianity went hand in hand with our movement, that Christianity meant the imitation of Christ—i.e., the endeavour to make the world better—that we did not want the vote for the vote's sake, but in order to make the world better by means of it. I do not think I was presuming too much in saying this. She said she had never looked at it in that light before, and she promised not to let others with whom she came in contact misunderstand us as she had done. An old boatman who took us out sailing, and taught us to steer, said: "An' remember this, Missie, the rudder is like a woman's tongue—a little used in the right way is good, but a lot used wrongly is bad, powerful bad." "Yes," we said, "but a lot used in the right way is good." One of the other people in the boat remarked that there was very little women were not able to do nowadays. "They can't get the vote," said the old seaman. "They can, and they will," said my sister, in a tone which completely silenced the old man. We have sent some copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN to the head of the Y.W.C.A. home, asking her, after she has read them, to place them in the general sitting-room, so that others may be interested. A great deal may be done in these homes. The women are the kind who think, and are ready to accept the truth. The next time



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SUFFRAGETTES AT THE TORQUAY REGATTA.

"The Suffragettes are no longer content with waging their warfare on terra firma. They harangued river lovers from a boat in Boulter's Lock a few Sundays ago, and at the Torquay Regatta last week flaunted their banner from a boat. Afterwards, this gallant "four" engaged in a tug-of-war with another boat, manned by four male scowlers."—*The Bystander*.

an interesting coincidence, for this town is famed for a woman who saved it from falling into the hands of the enemy, and captured the banner by her courage and bravery in the 12th or 13th century. There is a beautiful statue to her memory in the large market square, and once a year they still have a procession in memory of her courage and that of all the women who supported her, and on this day the women lead the way.

Yours, &c.,

IRENE SPONG.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR.—We should like to tell you about our holidays. My sister and I spent them at Dovercourt, a little seaside town near Harwich. We stayed at the Y.W.C.A. Almost everyone there had either given very little thought to the matter or else they "certainly thought women ought to have the vote, but didn't approve of our tactics." My sister and I set to work to put the case clearly before them, and by the time our holiday was at an end some, at least, were entirely in sympathy with us, while others wished to know more of our movement.

One of the quite converted ones is a nurse in one of the large London hospitals; she has a great desire to hear our speakers at the Portman Rooms, so, of course, we gave her an invitation card, and have no doubt that she will come. Another was a girl who said she could not help thinking that Christianity came before everything else. At first I was puzzled how to answer. Then I

we visit Dovercourt we shall go armed with literature and Votes for Women badges.

Yours, &c.,

IRENE MCLEOD.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR.—Two nice little incidents have happened to us since we came over, which I think you will like to hear. A large party of tourists (Co-operators, I think) passed us the other day as we sat by the roadside. My daughter was wearing her "Votes for Women" badge. One of the tourist ladies passed us and then came back. "I saw your badge," she said, "and I just had to come back to greet you." Wasn't that nice, and isn't it a testimony to the bond of union?

Then in our hotel is a lady who, having been absent from England for some years, professes both ignorance of and indifference to "The Cause." We are doing our best to convert her, but so far with no great success. However, one day she said, "Well, I notice one thing amongst all you Suffrage people: the Suffrage women are always so kind and nice to their own sex!" That's good, too, isn't it? and I hope it may become more and more marked. One of the first steps in practical Suffrage work must be to be "loyal to our fellow-women."

I get my VOTES FOR WOMEN regularly from my newsagent at home, and am careful to leave it about in the public rooms here.

With all good wishes,

Yours, &c.,

Finhaut, Switzerland.

A. P.

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

THE LAST OF THE HAREM.

Reprinted from the "Westminster Gazette."

Those who have read Pierre Loti's romance of the Harem, of which we gave an account when it was first published some time ago, will often of late have marvelled that he also belongs among the prophets. In the Young Turkey movement scene after scene recalls Loti's novel, and one of the most interesting features of the sudden emancipation of the Turk is the part which the women of the country are taking in it. Pierre Loti predicted this, and was mercilessly chaffed in the French Press for possessing himself of the secrets of the harem. But that his prophecies have come almost literally true may be seen by an account of a women's meeting at Constantinople described in the *Neue Wiener Tageblatt* by an eye-witness. Not many weeks ago such a meeting would have been as impossible as that the Church of St. Sophia should take wing and fly beyond the walls of Constantinople.

At four in the afternoon (writes a correspondent of the *Tageblatt*) I went with a Young Turkey friend and an Italian colleague to Giosetepe (a hill on the east shore of the Bosphorus). It is said that the spirit of Mohammed has blessed this spot with his breath, and comes to it every morning to rejoice, and to drink of the crystal spring of Giosetepe. . . . And now, in gay and merry groups, laughing and chattering, the ladies of the harem came, leaving their luxurious prisons, and rejoicing in the fullest liberty. What a strange sight it was! I asked myself what business I, the giaour, had among these fragrant blossoms of Allah, and the reality seemed but a dream and a vision. But no, it was all true, and I was a witness of the great moment when these lovely little women, breaking away from the prejudices and laws of thousands of years, were pulling down the walls of the harem, in order that the women of Turkey might obtain their liberty.

My Italian colleague shared my surprise, while our Young Turkey friend looked at us as if to say, "There now, a new era has begun for Turkish women. You are witnessing the reconstruction of woman's life in Turkey."

The ladies—there were over 300—grouped themselves round an improvised platform, which was occupied by the president, Labineh-Hannum, the wife of the physician Rifaat Pasha. The president of the advocates of women's rights in Turkey is young and pretty, and wore a costume which plainly showed traces of the change from Mohammedan to European dress. Her dress had a waist, and her face was unveiled. On her head was perched a pretty little thing, which, however, could hardly be called a hat. The lady spoke quietly and distinctly, but her voice shook now and then with emotion. She said, "The light which has risen over our country is to light everyone, without distinction of sex. We women also must receive its beams, for we too have the right to demand our freedom. We wish to help at the new birth of our race; we wish to help to bring charitable institutions into being, homes for the poor and their children. But we must have the same rights and the same position as those which European women hold. And in aspiring to this we must be strong in virtue and in honour. We want full equality, full freedom. The Turkish woman must in future be able to breathe freely; the intolerable fate of being guarded, the bondage of the harem, which has hitherto made us slaves and degraded our womanly dignity, is a thing of the past. Turkish family life must now be built upon the foundations of right, liberty, and equality. We want to get away from the harem, and our motto must be "Down with the harem! Long life to liberty and to the equality of the sexes!"

The president's speech was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic applause, and when she had finished they lifted her shoulder-high, amid frantic cheers. Indeed, the scene and the sight of the small white hands, sparkling with jewels and

clapping with such enthusiasm, took one to Madison-square, New York, into a meeting of the free women of America. The young women crowded round the president, asking, "How soon shall we meet again?" "Not very soon," the president replied, "but I will call you at the right time." Others called out, "What a fine beginning! But we are also going to the theatre." "And to the tocaglian," others added. "Of course, of course!" a young beauty cried, "and to dances and dinners in the Town Park; we shall be as the European women."

Our Young Turkey guide added, "The scene which you have just seen will remain historic. After centuries of slavery the day has come for our women. An echo of this will soon come from the provinces. Under the token of Europe the second birth of our race will take place."

The sun was setting; its golden light paled over the hill of Giosetepe and far away over the Golden Horn. Gradually, in small groups, the ladies of the harem left the place in which they had proclaimed the day of freedom, and when the last had disappeared it seemed as if a fair dream had come to an end. The movement has meanwhile spread and the news comes from Constantinople of the formation of a club for Mussulman and Christian women.

A Singer's Presence of Mind.

Readers of Miss Elizabeth Robins will remember how in one of her latest novels the passengers of a sinking ship are saved from panic by the singing of popular hymns, led by the heroine Hildegarde. A somewhat similar scene was enacted on board the excursion steamer "Queen" during last week's gale. The "Queen," carrying 160 passengers, among whom were many women, from Brighton to Southsea, was driven in shore by the wind. She grounded on a sandbank, from which, however, she got clear after an hour; she then shipped some heavy seas, her helm became disabled, and she drifted helplessly on to the rocks. Signals of distress brought the Selsey life-boat on the scene, and, after many narrow escapes of being washed overboard, passengers and crew were rescued. One of the women passengers, interviewed by the Press, says that when the danger first became apparent a beautiful voice rang out. "Above everything could be heard a lady singing 'Onward, Christian Soldiers.' We all took up the hymn, and when that was finished we sang again, the same beautiful soprano leading, the hymn for those in peril on the sea." One of the male passengers noticed that the women on board were especially calm. The boat, which should have arrived at eight o'clock in the evening of Monday, landed her first passengers in the early hours of Tuesday morning.

A Woman as Probate Judge.

A new office has just been thrown open to women in America. Governor Hoch, of Kansas, has appointed a woman as Probate Judge. The lady, Mrs. Mitchell, succeeds her husband, who died in office. She is, in all probability, the first woman to serve in such a capacity.

Curio Dealing as a Business Opening.

A new occupation for women, and one which many are seriously taking up for a living, is that of curio and antique dealing. More than a hundred women are now the proprietors of shops in the West-End, where they carry on a thriving trade. An American lady, the wife of a prominent Mayfair doctor, is initiating a Curio Dealers' Club exclusively for ladies, to be open to all women who are dealers in curios and antiques, which is designed to be a means of securing appointments for ladies capable of becoming manageresses and buyers for curio shops.

*Lizzie Caswall-Smith,
Photographer.*

309, Oxford Street, W. (Close to
New Bond St.)

THELMA
Robes et Modes.

59, SOUTHAMPTON ROW, LONDON, W.C.

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegraphic Address—"WOSPOLU, LONDON."

Telephone 5550 Holborn.

Mrs. PANKHURST,*Founder and Hon. Sec.***Mrs. TUKE,***Joint Hon. Sec.***Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,***Hon. Treasurer.***Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,***Organising Sec.*

THE AUTUMN CAMPAIGN.

How We Honour Brave Women.

The summer holidays are over. To some people this may be a realisation tinged with regret. Not so to the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. Enriched though our life has been by the beauty of long summer days, by the wealth of light and sweeping shadow upon hill and sea and moorland, by the joys of open air life, by the laughter of merry comrades, by all the endless gifts with which Mother Earth loads her children; we know this, that we come back to enter into the greatest inheritance that can fall to the lot of any human soul. We have gloried in the wonders of the created earth. We turn now to enter into living union with the great creative forces at work upon human destiny. There is to be a new spring and a new summer for the human race; and we are of the sap that is to transform deadness into life. We lie at the roots of living things that are yet to appear and become visible; we feel the stirring which is made by the breath of the word of God upon the void. This is, after all, the great joy, the real rapture of existence, and that joy is the inheritance of those who take part in a great world movement such as ours: a movement for the quickening of the life-forces dormant in the soul of women. It is sweeter to give than to receive; it is better "to strive towards making, than rejoice in aught found made." Forth then, to the labour and the pain and the joy of giving birth to a vital hope which will renew and make beautiful the life of humanity.

But we grow prodigal in our delight and elation at coming home again. We hardly need to dive right down to the bottom of our heart to fetch up our shining treasure—our best and most priceless jewel of joy. For there are joys enough lying all around upon the surface. To come back to our comrades, to see the smiles of welcome in their eyes, to hear their hopes and thoughts and plans, to plot out ambitious schemes together, and hatch sweet surprises for the old world, laughing to think how it will rub its silly eyes. To feel endless scope for the renewed energies of body and mind, to think of the risks and adventures we shall encounter in the guerilla warfare which we wage against the stupid obstinacy and blind tyranny of the pompous old-fashioned gentlemen, named collectively, the Government. To think how every latent faculty of mind and body is going to be called out in the development and extension of our great movement. To think of all the great forces and agencies that are on our side; to count amongst these agencies our great ally Time, whom not one of our opponents can resist. Surely these things alone are enough to account for "the W.S.P.U. smile," even more than usually in evidence at this particular season of the year.

Smiles, as well as words, have to be turned into action by Suffragettes. We have long ago decided that action alone is for us the medium of expression. Thoughts, principles, beliefs, and emotions must be expressed by deeds, and by deeds

only. Joy, sympathy, love, and wrath are forces too precious to waste. They have to be turned into wearing the colours, winning new adherents every day for the Union, giving money to the Campaign Fund, selling our paper, holding forth at street corners, and filling the greatest halls in every important town in the country with enthusiastic crowds of people demanding constitutional liberties for women; they have to be turned into smashing Cabinet Ministers' meetings, fighting the Government at by-elections, and making effective demonstrations of public protest in Parliament-square.

That is the programme of our autumn campaign. "Now then, who is ready?" I can read the answer in the eyes of every Suffragette that I see: "Here I am; what is the next thing?"

The Next Thing.

The next, the very next, thing is to prepare for our dear, brave comrades who are to be released from three months' imprisonment next Wednesday a welcome that shall be not altogether unworthy even of the greatness of their spirit, and the greatness of their service to our cause.

At eight o'clock next Wednesday morning every member of this Union not absolutely prevented by imperative duty should be waiting outside the gates of Holloway. They should come, if possible, in full uniform, for this in itself is an expression of respect and honour. Everyone, I think, knows by this time what full uniform means—a white dress with belt and regalia in the colours.

The horses will again be taken out of the traces, and the released prisoners will be drawn to Queen's Hall by a team of Suffragettes harnessed to their State carriage. The longer this team is the better. We could arrange for 50 to take part in this service of love. Names of volunteers must be sent in at once to Mrs. Drummond at 4, Clements Inn, so that every one may have her own special place allotted to her, and be definitely instructed in a letter as to her precise duty.

One of our great banners will be carried on this joyous occasion. Names of those who will volunteer to assist in carrying it must be sent in at once, as a little practice would be desirable, and a rehearsal in one of the unoccupied squares near Clements Inn can be arranged. Mrs. Drummond would like names of those who will sell the paper to the people in the crowd. There is need for all and work for each one. Purple and white flowers are wanted in great quantity to decorate the carriage. Will our friends send them to arrive at Clements Inn next Tuesday?

A very great effort should be made by every one of the members to push the sale of breakfast tickets amongst their friends, for no better opportunity could possibly be afforded for making converts and enthusiastic adherents to our cause. Of all our meetings this breakfast party is the most significant. The sight of the women who have suffered so bravely, and their words of greeting to the world as they come back to it, must go straight to the heart of everyone present, whether previously friend or foe to the woman's movement. It is incumbent upon all our members to bring, if possible, at least one stranger with them.

On the following Friday, September 18, we carry out very much the same programme again. For on that morning we welcome Mary Phillips. The only difference in the ceremony is that, as she is a Scotswoman, we will give her a real Scotch welcome.

Her flowers will be heather and thistles. Her fellow country-women will wear the tartan, with Glengarry caps. Instead of an ordinary band, we shall have the bagpipes. We hope that all our Scotch friends in London and elsewhere will make a special point of being with us on Friday, September 18, to do honour to Mary Phillips.

On both these occasions the processions will form up again after the breakfast, and our dear heroines will be drawn in full state from Queen's Hall to the Headquarters at Clements Inn.

After these festivities are over we settle down to real solid hard work, bearing in view our next all-important date, which is October 13.

This day is the anniversary of the first imprisonment in the annals of the Women's Social and Political Union. It was on October 13, 1905, that Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney were sent to prison as a punishment for their persistence in demanding an answer to their question from Sir Edward Grey, at a Liberal meeting in Manchester.

On October 13, 1908, we shall again demand an answer to our question, and shall seek an interview, not with Sir Edward Grey, but with the Prime Minister of this country. As usual, we shall meet in Caxton Hall to formulate our demand.

Before this day dawns, the men and women of London have to be roused; in the provinces the women especially have to be awoken and inspired to do their duty and take an honourable share in the business that will be enacted. Fortunately, the West of England, the North and the Midlands, are now in the hands of capable and experienced organisers. We look for great results in those directions.

As to the great city of London, we shall divide it as before into seven districts, and shall pursue in each division a vigorous street and market-place propaganda, calling upon the men and the women who sympathise with us to show their sympathy actively, by insisting that women get fair play. Women have as much right to make known their need to the rulers of the country as men have, and since they do not, as yet, possess the vote, there is all the more reason why their deputation should be received. We earnestly hope that on October 13 Mr. Asquith will deign graciously to receive his humble and obedient and patiently tax-paying servants.

There is one more outstanding event which looms up like a great mountain bounding our present horizon. We must not forget it. The Albert Hall meeting on October 29. Write this date, not in your diary but in your heart and upon your brains. Let us all remember that there are 6,000 tickets to sell before the success of that meeting is assured. Of course, we shall all do our individual share in this great undertaking. This is the sole secret of our triumphs in the past.

Let me recapitulate the red-letter days, each one of which is of great significance to our members all over the country: the 16th and the 18th days of September, the 13th and the 29th days of October. Upon these particular days we have to storm and take and occupy strategic positions, which will command the battlefield, and determine the success of the Autumn Campaign.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

TITLE DEEDS OF POLITICAL LIBERTY.

Five women will be released from prison on September 16 and 18, after serving the term of three months' imprisonment, to which they were sentenced for having taken part in the recent Votes for Women demonstration outside the House of Commons. No one will deny that it is a most serious matter that responsible and educated women, who have all their lives been perfectly law-abiding, should now, in consequence of political discontent, come into conflict with the authorities, and should undergo prolonged imprisonment. It is time that the public realised their responsibility in this matter, because it is in their name and on their behalf that the authorities are acting when they arrest and imprison the women who are demanding political enfranchisement. The public are, therefore, in duty bound to consider of what offence these women are guilty, and for what reason that offence was committed.

The three months' sentence is apt to make people argue that the Suffragettes must have done something very wrong, or they would not have been so heavily punished. It is well, therefore, to explain that what they actually did was to walk into the midst of the great crowd which assembled at Westminster on June 30, and attempt to move onwards to the House of Commons itself. Prevented, however, from doing this by the large force of police (nearly 1,700), they spoke to the people surrounding them of their cause. For this they were arrested; for doing this, and nothing more. The magistrate, on learning that it was the second time they had taken such action, decided to try whether harsh measures would avail to crush their determination, and required of them that they should either promise for twelve months to give up this form of agitation or serve three months' imprison-

ment. They chose the latter alternative, and every one of them has gone through with her sentence to the very end. The Government hoped, no doubt, that depression, discouragement, or physical weakness would overcome the purpose of these women, who at any moment during the long months could bring their imprisonment to an end by a single word of surrender. For this to have happened would certainly have given the Government a marked advantage, but our friends, through all the hardship and weariness of mind and body which are the lot of a prisoner, could see the vital importance of doing their part to maintain the resistance which is being made to the Government, and of proving to the world that the will of women to be politically free is as strong as tempered steel.

A knowledge of the action for which these five women were arrested, and of the disproportionate penalty they have suffered, will make it plain that what they are being punished for is their persistence in demanding the vote, and that the object of the authorities is to crush their determination by the use of measures of increasing severity. This has always been the hope of tyrants, who seem never to remember that the human spirit is stronger than any force which they are able to exert.

In showing how slight was the offence committed by the five women, there is no intention to disguise the fact that theirs was an act of revolt, but if it is by acts of revolt, if history has anything to teach us, that the limits of freedom are extended. The title deeds of their political liberty the British people owe to the militant attitude of the Barons who forced King John to sign Magna Carta. In Stuart times the Parliamentarians took violent measures which are to-day entirely forgiven because of the purpose they had and the work they achieved. Each extension of the franchise to men has been the outcome of violent agitation or the fear of it.

Great constitutional changes are necessarily hard to make. Those who are outside the Constitution have no ordinary means of securing admission, and therefore they must try extraordinary means. One who is locked out of his own house, as a matter of course, breaks the window and climbs in through that. Just in the same way British women, who find the doors of the Constitution barred against them, are prepared to force their way in as best they can. Hence the adoption of the present militant methods.

The Character of Militant Methods.

At the outset, these methods were denounced on the ground that anything in the nature of violent action on the part of women was unbecoming. Our reply to that was that milder methods had failed to bring about women's enfranchisement; that the new methods which we had been forced to adopt were moderation itself compared with the deeds of men reformers; and finally, that the militant methods have been justified by their success in bringing Woman Suffrage to the forefront of British politics.

Unable to refute these arguments, our critics change their ground, and proceed to say that since women are physically weaker than men, they cannot hope to achieve anything by militant measures. Those who argue thus are misled by the fallacious idea that Suffragettes are attacking men as a whole. At the same time, if that were the only way of winning the vote, then inferior strength would not exonerate women from the duty of making their revolt against injustice. Better that it were made in vain than not made at all. But we may be sure that men, on finding that this movement could not be stamped out except by brute force, would decide to give women the justice they demand. However, the situation holds no such grim possibility as this. The Suffragettes are not at war with the men of the nation; their enemy is the Government. They make war only upon Cabinet Ministers, and to overcome such resistance as these gentlemen can offer is certainly not beyond the power of our determined and resolute band of women.

Christabel Pankhurst.

NEWCASTLE BY-ELECTION.

Unionist Mr. George Renwick.
Liberal Mr. Edward Shortt.

The figures at the last election were as follows:—Mr. W. Hudson (Lab.), 18,869; Mr. Thomas Cairns (Lib.), 15,423; Sir W. R. Plummer (Con.), 11,942; Mr. G. Renwick (Con.), 11,223.

Committee Rooms: 416, Scotswood Road.

I desire to make an earnest appeal to our members and friends. The holidays are over for most of us, and with the end of the holidays comes a call to work of a very special kind. The death of one of the members for Newcastle has caused a Parliamentary vacancy, and we are now taking part in what will probably be the most important by-election of the year. Coming as it does immediately before the reassembling of Parliament for the autumn Session, its effect upon the Government policy will be enormous.

We must win this election.

In order to win it, help of every kind is urgently needed. We want the votes of a majority of the 37,000 electors. These votes can be won if we put sufficient energy into the contest.

I came here to-day from Scotland to begin the work, and I find that, in order to make the fight a good one, we need 100 workers for this huge constituency. These workers must be either speakers, canvassers, chalkers, or able to take charge of committee rooms.

In addition to workers, conveyances are wanted to convey speakers from place to place where meetings are held, &c.

The contest will be a costly one, and I hope that friends who cannot help in any other way will send our treasurer the necessary funds.

I am convinced that every woman in the movement feels as I do, coming with renewed health and vigour from the bracing air of the sea and the country.

I am eager to fight a better fight than ever before to win the power to make life happier for the thousands of our sisters who enjoy no holidays, and to whom the beauty and the joy of nature is unknown. All who are willing to help to win the victory in Newcastle should at once communicate with Miss Pankhurst, at 4, Clements Inn.

Emmeline Pankhurst.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

NEWCASTLE, Tuesday, Sept. 8.

This is one of the largest constituencies in the United Kingdom, having an electorate of 37,000, and returning at the General Election two members to Parliament. It is uncertain yet whether the campaign is likely to be short or long, and all the parties are getting rapidly to work in the hope of covering the ground in the time. The National Women's Social and Political Union were early in the field under the leadership of Mrs. Pankhurst, and, in addition to Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Atkinson, and the other members of the recently-formed local W.S.P.U., Mrs. Martel, Miss Brackenbury, Miss Lambert, Miss Douglas Smith, Miss Marsh, Miss Ogston, and Miss Gye are taking part, and Miss Scott, who was recently the Hyde Park secretary, is acting as election agent.

Committee rooms are being taken in the Elswick Ward, in which a large number of working people reside, and an active campaign is already in progress. The first meeting was held in the Bigg Market last night, and resulted in the gathering of an enormous crowd of 6,000 or 7,000 people round the improvised platform. A large number of the crowd were anxious to hear the speakers, but a hostile and rowdy element rendered this impossible, and only those in the immediate vicinity of the platform could listen to the speeches.

Mrs. Pankhurst held on, however, for close on an hour, in spite of noise and of the threatening behaviour of a section of the crowd. In the end the lorry was pushed away some distance from the Bigg Market, and narrowly escaped the shafts going through a shop window. Even here, however, Mrs. Pankhurst did not desist, until at last it was found that she could not make the audience hear, and the meeting was finally closed.

The *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* this morning in referring to the incident says:—"Mrs. Pankhurst 'faced the music' with an air of complete intrepidity," and in another part of the paper the leader writer expresses the hope "that for the good name of the city there will be no repetition of the unseemly row in the Bigg Market last night. The ladies are entitled to present their views, and in the name of decency that right ought to be

respected." The *North Mail* concludes its report of the meeting as follows:—

Mrs. Pankhurst is by no means dismayed at the stormy scenes which accompanied her first meeting last night.

"I do not think the crowd was a disorderly one," she said to a *North Mail* representative after the Bigg Market gathering. "I think the trouble was due to a small organised band of educated ignorants who were in front."

"I was excellently received," she added, "as I made my way through the crowd, and I think if I could have made my voice heard I would have received a sympathetic hearing."

"I was astonished at the magnitude of the crowd, and am sure by far the greater portion was anxious to hear our views. However, we have booked the Town Hall, and hope by charging for admission and having a proper outlook to keep away the youthful and voteless."

"We hope before the close of the campaign to have converted all those who were in the Bigg Market to-night."

Mrs. Pankhurst paid a tribute to the police, their small number and the way they were able to so effectively control the large crowd testifying, she said, to the latter's good nature.

The account given in the *Daily Telegraph* will be found below.

At the time of writing the full programme of meetings for the W.S.P.U. has not been decided, but there will be the usual dinner hour meetings at work gates, women's meetings every afternoon, and meetings in the principal centres of the town every evening. Meetings are being arranged in the Town Hall for Monday afternoon and evening.

A great deal of support is being offered by the newly-formed Newcastle W.S.P.U. Mrs. Taylor, of Chipchase, arranged a welcoming "At Home" to Mrs. Pankhurst at the County Hotel, and Mrs. Atkinson, the secretary, took the chair on Monday evening.

Contributions to the Campaign.

As soon as it was known that a by-election would take place in Newcastle Mrs. Atkinson received a letter from a member of the local W.S.P.U., of which the following is an extract:—

I shall be pleased to subscribe £5 towards the by-election expenses. This represents a new dress which I had promised myself, and which by the merest chance ha, not yet been ordered. I mention this merely so that it can be used to induce others to give, but I do not wish my name to be known to anyone but yourself.

The giver is a girl working for herself. The money was sent the next day, and has been paid to the national treasurer.

All the signs point to an exceedingly interesting campaign.

"DAILY TELEGRAPH," September 8.

With their meeting this evening, the visible fight may be said to have commenced. And it certainly was a fierce beginning. They had advertised far and wide that their meeting would be held in Bigg Market—a large square in a central part of the town. Long before Mrs. Pankhurst and her supporters arrived a vast crowd had assembled, and it was clear that they intended to give the speakers a very unpleasant reception. With the greatest possible difficulty the Suffragists made their way to a cart that had been drawn up in the centre of the square to serve as a platform. But the crowd had come to torment, and not to listen to them, and the voice of any lady who attempted to speak was drowned in hooting and hissing. The orators had come, however, to show why women should have votes, and heroically stuck to their task.

* * * * *

The general drift of the Suffragist speakers was that the strongest opposition should be offered to the Government candidate, because of Ministerial indifference to their claims. On the whole, the militant section of the movement promises Newcastle a lively time. The agitation for votes for women is to centre round Newcastle during the contest, and its advocates are convinced that they will achieve the conversion of the borough to their views on this question. Several ladies who have suffered imprisonment are here, among them one, belonging to a Newcastle family, who was recently liberated from Holloway.

During the contest the ladies intend to organise processions. They will wear the green, white, and purple colours of the movement, and the medallions with "Votes for Women" inscribed thereon. Sashes and waist-belts, in the colours of the union, will also be donned, and flags, with the well-worn mottoes, and bands of music are sure to be employed in the campaign. There are many evidences of the interest of North-country women in the crusade for "political rights."

OPENING THE AUTUMN CAMPAIGN IN LONDON.

Great enthusiasm marked the opening of the autumn campaign in London on Thursday evening, when the first At Home to be held after the holidays took place in the Portman Rooms. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence presided, and, in giving a hearty welcome to old and new friends, referred to the joy of working in so splendid a movement. One of the pleasures of her holiday had been the receiving of letters from members who were doing propaganda work wherever they went. The colours, which should always be worn, formed an invaluable introduction. The autumn campaign was going to be more strenuous than any that had gone before since the militant movement began. They would see more rapid extension than ever before. (Hear, hear.) Mrs. Lawrence then outlined the plan of action, and urged all members to concentrate on the four great events immediately before them—the release of the four prisoners on September 16, the release of Miss Mary Phillips on September 18, the meeting of women in the Caxton Hall on October 13, and the Albert Hall meeting on October 29. If the Government continued obstinate they would build up throughout the country an organisation which it would be impossible to resist.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst said that the duty that lay before the N.W.S.P.U. was to bring pressure to bear on the Government during the coming autumn. The work was planned out with a view to making things very hard for the Government if they still persisted in their refusal to accede to the women's demand.

On Monday Afternoon.

There was a large attendance at the At Home on Monday afternoon in the large Portman Rooms. The proceedings were opened by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who welcomed the many strangers present. Speaking of the prisoners to be released on September 16 and 18, she remarked that unless they had been animated by a great passion for right, a great love of humanity, and a great forgetfulness of self, it would have been impossible for them to act as they had done. It was the duty of all who were not absolutely prevented from doing so to be outside Holloway gates, in "uniform" to meet them and do them honour; they had served the longest term of any yet inflicted, and would have a correspondingly fitting reception, which, in the case of Mary Phillips, would take the form of a Scotch welcome. Mr. Asquith would be warned that he "mauna tramp on the Scotch thistle, Laddie," and Miss Phillips' father and mother were coming all the way from Glasgow to drive with her in the carriage, while instead of a band the pipers would play the bagpipes. The next important date was October 13, the third anniversary of the arrest of Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney. (Prolonged applause.) The men and women of London must be roused as they were roused for June 21, and for this purpose London had been divided into seven districts, in each of which meetings would be held, and propaganda work of every kind carried out, each under an organiser. People must be told that sympathy in word was not enough; it must be shown in deed, by upholding the women's claim on the Government. There were 6,000 tickets to be sold for the Albert Hall meeting on October 29; every member should consider it a privilege to undertake this. Appealing on behalf of Daisy Lord, Mrs. Lawrence reminded her hearers of the very similar case of Hetty Sorrel, which stirred every reader of *Adam Bede* to profound discontent with a law which put all the punishment on the unhappy mother, and let the father go free.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst addressed the "unconverted people" who were present for the first time, explaining the policy and tactics of the militant movement. She asked them to hear both sides, and to form an honest opinion. The most significant recent event so far as women were concerned was the dawn of a happier era for women as well as men in Turkey. These women were looking to England to show

them the way to work out their own political salvation, and it would need all the devotion and enthusiasm of women to win the Parliamentary vote, without which neither English nor Turkish women would be equipped for the great work before them. English women had a very obstinate Government to deal with. They had arranged to lay their demand, in a perfectly respectful manner, before the Prime Minister, and to take such further measures as might be necessary to win his consent. They were in the happy position of having two strings to their bow—the second string being the Newcastle by-election. From what she knew of the working men in the North, the electors there would stand by the women and help them to bring home their demand for political freedom to the Liberal Government once more. Workers were wanted at once to join Mrs. Pankhurst, and the fight must not be lost for want of proper equipment. The electors were partially responsible for sending the women to prison, and they were justly to be blamed if they did not take every opportunity of expressing their indignation and censure of the Government's treatment of women who asked for simple justice. The women must make their demand and fight their own battle. Men would not fight it for them. Only when they saw women striving to set themselves free would men lend a helping hand. Until then men would continue to say: "If they can't cut their own bonds, it proves they are born to subjection." A great crisis was before the movement. London had been roused before, and it must be roused again. The Suffragettes were winning public support; they must concentrate their forces on making October 13 a date memorable in the history of women's fight for the vote.

Mrs. Drummond, having asked for and obtained hospitality for an organiser coming from Glasgow to study the methods of the N.W.S.P.U., outlined the plans for working up the seven districts round Parliament-square, in one of which, she remarked, everyone present would find she lived.

THE WOMAN'S PRESS.

The following penny pamphlets are published or sold by the Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.:—

- Prison Faces.** By ANNIE KENNEY.
- A Call to Women.** By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
- One and One are Two.** By ISRAEL ZANGWILL.
- Talked Out.** By ISRAEL ZANGWILL.
- The Commons Debate on Woman Suffrage.** By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.
- The Importance of the Vote.** By Mrs. PANKHURST.
- The New Crusade.** By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
- The Meaning of the Woman's Movement.** By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
- Votes for Men.** By MARY GAWTHORPE.
- Woman's Suffrage in America.** By Mrs. BORRMANN WELLS.
- Woman's Vote in Australia.** By Mrs. MARTEL.
- The Citizenship of Women.** By KEIR HARDIE.
- Woman's Franchise.** By Mrs. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.
- Woman's Suffrage.** By T. JOHNSTON.

The Woman's Press also publishes a large number of leaflets on particular questions, samples of which will be sent free on receipt of postage, and which can be obtained in large quantities at specially cheap rates.

From the Woman's Press can also be obtained books on the Woman's Suffrage question, and picture post cards of the leaders of the N.W.S.P.U., and of many of the incidents in the agitation.

BADGES AND COLOURS.

The following can also be obtained:—

Button Badges with the words "Votes for Women" ...	1d. each.
Ribbon Badges (woven "Votes for Women") ...	1d. each.
Ribbon , 1½ ins. wide ...	3d. yard.
Ribbon , 2 ins. wide ...	1/- yard.
Scarves , 2½ yards long, 13 ins. wide ...	2/11 each.
Ties ...	1/- each.
Ribbon Belts , with Buckles ...	2/6 each.
Regalia ...	1/11 each.
Beaded Brooches ...	3/6 each.

THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

Shop and Committee Rooms: 33, Queen's Road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton. Open from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Another week has gone by, and we are another week nearer our Demonstration, and nearer our winning the vote.

At our At Home last week Miss Canning, one of the ex-prisoners, gave an interesting account of how she was arrested, and how the crowd supported the women.

On Tuesday Miss Millicent Browne took the meeting in Portland-square and Miss Irene Dallas won the hearts and converted the heads of the girls, who told her they wanted to come again and hear more about "Votes for Women." On Wednesday and Friday Miss Dallas went to the Wills' Tobacco Factory, where there are a thousand men, women, and girls employed. Then in the afternoon Miss Canning and Miss Dallas spoke at the meeting on the Downs. These meetings have been so successful that I hope to keep them on for a long time. The Friday At Home was the best we have yet held. Miss Canning again spoke, and was received with enthusiasm. The Horse Fair meeting was held on the same day, and was a great success. I heard some men talking about their wives, and in the end they said (peaking of the Suffragettes): "These women are going to win; they are sure to get what they want because they will never give in."

On Saturday we went to Burnham, a little seaside place beyond Weston. Our meeting was at 4 o'clock. Many friends came from Shapwick and Glastonbury with the Misses Strangeways, who are such splendid workers for our Union. Many questions along the usual lines were asked by the Liberals present. We had a splendid time, and sold a large amount of literature and took 14s. 6d. in collection. We hope to go back to Burnham later.

The Durdham Downs Demonstration.

We are busy fixing up a good campaign for the winter. At the Durdham Downs demonstration on September 10, at four o'clock there will be seven platforms. Before the meeting the Apollo Band will play. The chairmen will include Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, and many more of our prominent speakers. We shall want a great many helpers on that day. Some will be wanted to act as stewards and some (at least 50) as literature sellers, and a further 50 to collect money. I hope everyone will come and help. Please give in your names beforehand to Miss Clara Codd, 33, Queen's-road, Clifton. All literature sellers are to meet at the shop at this address not later than 2.30, as we want to be on the Downs selling as the people arrive. The literature sellers will be under the leadership of Miss Blathwayte. The collectors are to meet at my private address, 78, Alma-road, Clifton, not later than 2.30. We want them also to be on the Downs collecting while the band is playing. They are to be under the leadership of Miss Enid St. John.

The great success of our shop has decided the executive in London to allow us to continue it for a further six months, and we are arranging to continue the At Homes up to the end of the present year. They are being held at present in the small Hannah More Hall, but next Friday, September 11, as Mr. Pethick Lawrence is going to speak, we are arranging to have the large Hannah More Hall.

Owing to the growing numbers at our Monday afternoon At Homes, I have arranged that next Monday, September 14, shall be the last time when we hold them in the Hannah More Hall. On September 21 we are going to have the large Victoria Rooms to welcome Mrs. Pankhurst to Bristol. Three members of our Union, who are artists, have got out a special poster to advertise this reception; it has been done in the three colours of the Union—purple, green, and white. After that I have booked the small Victoria Rooms for every Monday up to Christmas. We must make a great effort to fill this each week, and also to raise the money to pay for it.

I have been working hard to raise the money for the different parts of our campaign. I have been able to send up to the treasurer £6 from a friend, money which is reclaimed income-tax, and also £1 from M. Colby. These are towards the expenses of our big reception in the Victoria Rooms, but I still want a further £2, so will someone please send me this? I also want £30 to meet the expenses of the weekly At Homes up to Christmas in order that I may be able to use all the collections for clear profit. I am glad to say that I have got the money for the band for the demonstration on the Durdham Downs. Finally, I want everyone to remember the great meeting in the Colston Hall, on Friday, November 13. We have to see that we fill this large hall quite full. The tickets will be ready for sale on September 21. They will be 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., and I shall want everybody to help in selling them.

Next Week's Work.

We are going to be busy next week in advertising our Durdham Downs Demonstration. We are having a chalking party, and a wagonette is going round the town with banners. I am sorry that two

of my best workers, Miss Williamson and Miss Browne, are leaving me to go back to their teaching work. Miss Floyd is also going away until November, and Miss Middleton has also had to go away. I am very sorry to lose them, not only because they have helped us with the work, but because we have formed a close friendship which will last long after the vote is won. I am hoping that other friends will come, who will be able to pay their own expenses and give me a hand in the work, as there is much to be done and a great many people to be roused.

ANNIE KENNEY.

LANCASHIRE.

The Conference of the Institute of Journalists gave us the opportunity of doing some good propaganda work amongst a body comprising as usual some very warm supporters, some opponents, and a good many "indifferents."

Next week will be very busy. Though I shall be in Harrogate most of the week, the Manchester members, having obtained the necessary sanction, are arranging to have a decorated carriage to take part in the procession on Saturday next, Lifeboat Saturday. Although the details are not arranged, it is safe to say that it will be an effort worthy of the N.W.S.P.U.

The second Friday "At Home" of the series was very well attended, and we were delighted to see that so many members had brought friends who were new to the movement. If every member will make a point of bringing, or of being responsible for, one new friend every week we shall very soon be able to take the larger hall in Onward Buildings, and be able to build up an equally successful series of afternoon "At Homes."

Subscriptions are earnestly solicited to cover the rent of the rooms required. We should want £13 for the series of afternoon "At Homes," to be held in a central and easily accessible hall.

We must have, too, some helpers able to give their whole time if Manchester is to achieve what we know it to be capable of, before the Free Trade Hall meeting on November 25. The members here are wonderful workers, but the majority can only give their evenings.

Are there not some N.W.S.P.U. members in other parts of the country who will come to Manchester and help to build up this great campaign—now—at the beginning? Ample opportunity will be afforded to graduate as a thoroughly experienced Suffragette. Duties will range from chalking the street and addressing envelopes to selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, and speaking at the numerous meetings. Workers will find, as we do, that the joy of working in the Suffrage cause is not only an end in itself, but the only sure test of the energies required for the winning of the great reform we have in view. Who will be the first volunteer?

Liverpool has been very lively during the past few days. Mrs. Martel's oratory has drawn enormous crowds, and at the demonstration under the auspices of the Men's League, the advocacy of the militants seemed to find most supporters, as I am told Mrs. Martel's crowd was enormous, running into many thousands. Manchester was hoping for a visit too, but Mrs. Martel has been obliged to leave Lancashire in consequence of the by-election in Newcastle.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst is coming to speak at Lancaster on September 27.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

YORKSHIRE.

AT HOMES.

Bradford, Monday, 4 to 6.30; Friday, 8 to 10, Somerset Parlour, Godwin-street.

Leeds, Wednesday, Arts Club, 8, Blenheim-terrace, Woodhouse-lane, 8 to 10.

Huddersfield, Northumberland-street School, Huddersfield, Tuesdays, 8 to 10.

I want to appeal to Bradford women this week to rally round us and to keep their town as the centre of Yorkshire work. Volunteers must write to me at the office, 61, Manningham-lane, Bradford.

My work in Huddersfield has been most encouraging. We are hoping to take a bigger room for our weekly "At Home" in a few weeks' time.

On Thursday night Dr. Murchison and I spoke at Mould Green, Huddersfield, in spite of the wet weather, because the people were waiting for us in the rain. We had a most enthusiastic audience, though we all got very wet.

On Friday we had our first evening "At Home" in Somerset Parlour. We expect these to be a great success later on, but more workers are absolutely necessary.

Saturday was spent outside a football match in Leeds, where we sold many copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN. The Suffragettes, who were of course wearing the colours, met with a sympathetic reception. We shall try to turn up at every match in the same way.

Mrs. Batchelor organised a meeting at Eccleshill on Saturday night.

Many of the audience were young working girls, who were very greatly interested. Mrs. Twales had a meeting in Roundhay-road, Leeds, last Tuesday evening, which she reports as a very good one.

Next week we are to have a stall, Monday and Tuesday, at Armley Feast, in the market. We anticipate good sales of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

In addition to our At Home in Leeds on Wednesday, we are holding a meeting in Belgrave Lecture Hall, New Briggate.

I should be very glad of extra assistance in Huddersfield for the At Home and demonstration there, and for Mrs. Pankhurst's At Home in the Parochial Hall, Huddersfield, on September 28.

ADELA PANKHURST.

MIDLANDS.

AT HOMES—

Birmingham, 49, Bristol-street, 7.30 to 9 p.m.

Wolverhampton, I, Tettenhall-road, 3.30 to 5 p.m.

The flag of the N.W.S.P.U. is waving in the Midlands, and from every side women are rallying round it, falling into line, ready and willing to do their share. At present it is chiefly outpost duty, with all the difficulties such a position entails, but we are not daunted; were all the forces of prejudice and ignorance doubled we should be just as undismayed, for we are animated by the spirit of sympathy, truth, and mutual service, and we feel the strength of that grand spirit of *camaraderie* which we all experience in such great measure when we are privileged to be in London.

In Wolverhampton a series of weekly At Homes has been arranged. Owing to the inclemency of the weather the first was but a small gathering, and there were no set speeches. We are prepared to put together all our energies towards making the meeting on October 8 in the Bath Assembly Hall, Wolverhampton, an unqualified success. Mrs. Pankhurst will speak, and the knowledge that our beloved leader will be present is the greatest stimulus to us all. Members and sympathisers anxious to help in the sale of tickets should communicate with Miss Lilian Bradburn, 65, Bath-road, Wolverhampton. Miss Aimee Law has been most helpful in acceding to requests made to take part in debates near Wolverhampton. A sympathiser in Wolverhampton sends a copy of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* to the Free Library reading-room. It is most encouraging to come across incidents like this:

Coventry members are arranging for a series of indoor and outdoor meetings to be held for the purpose of leading up to a large public meeting to be held in the Bath Assembly Hall, Coventry, at which Miss Christabel Pankhurst will be the speaker; we have no doubt that Coventry people will turn up in large numbers on this occasion. The interest taken in the subject of Women's Suffrage was ably and characteristically expressed by a workman during our recent week's campaign there. On being asked if the people were talking about votes for women, he replied, "Talking about it! Yer don't hear anything else at th' works—why, it's worse than a bloomin' general election!" After our meeting in November we anticipate it will be worse than an American Presidential election. Miss Alice Lea, 25, Queen's-road, Coventry, will be glad to receive names of members, friends, or sympathisers willing to assist in the sale of tickets.

The work in Birmingham goes on apace, drawing-room meetings, men's brotherhoods, debates under the auspices of the co-operative societies, are all to be addressed shortly. Several members have taken upon themselves the somewhat arduous work of finding suitable pitches for meetings in and around Birmingham, others are becoming most proficient in the art of chalking, and a third group has formed into a visiting committee to call upon members. Drenching rain has on more than one occasion made our evening out-of-door work impracticable. On Wednesday last new ground was opened out at Stirchley, near Bourneville. A very attentive hearing was given to Mrs. Bessie Smith and myself, but we were recommended to come on Friday next time, as we should then get a better collection, friendly advice we intend to follow in future.

On Friday we spoke at Witton-road, Aston. Many friendly greetings met us, and inquiries as to where we had been during the holiday time. "Ay, but we have missed you," they said, "and are you coming back next week?" We promised to do so. New members are being added to our Birmingham list in this district.

I am very glad to report how prompt and generous has been the response to my appeal for financial support in the Midland centre. Two ladies who prefer to remain anonymous have subscribed £10 and £2; Miss Beatrice Harraden, £1; Miss Gertrude Harraden, 10s.; Miss Dormer-Harris, 5s. I now want to raise a guarantee fund to defray the expenses of an office in Birmingham. An excellent room has been found in a very central position suitable for the At Homes which are such an essential feature of our movement. Are there 12 members willing to contribute 1s. a week, or six members to pay 2s.? If so, this burden of responsibility will be lifted off our shoulders, and we shall be able to go forward encouraged and resolute on our way.

Donations for the work in the Midlands should be addressed to me at 5, South-view, Wynn-street, Birmingham.

GLADICE G. KEEVIL.

RAWTENSTALL DEMONSTRATION.

Rossendale Valley is the Parliamentary constituency the member for which is the Right Hon. Lewis Vernon Harcourt, and in Rawtenstall, the central borough, the huge demonstration for which we have been working so long was held last Sunday. People came from all parts, and according to the very old residents, there has never been such a crowd in Rossendale before.

The political importance of Rossendale is very great, because Mr. Harcourt is one of the very few Cabinet Ministers opposed to our Bill, and also because more than half the wage-earners in the valley are women. Thus the conversion of the people here to a practical support of the cause means a big access of strength. It is to Mrs. Baines, who has conducted our eight weeks' energetic campaign, that the wonderful success of the demonstration is chiefly due, and it can now be said Rossendale is really roused. At least 12,000 people gathered round the five platforms in the afternoon on the fair ground. Very many were heard asking, "Where is Mrs. Pankhurst?" and they were keenly disappointed at her non-appearance; but the speeches of Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and other speakers, helped to secure a most enthusiastic reception of the resolution. Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Morris, Miss Clarkson, Miss Marsden, Miss Drummond, Miss Robinson, and Miss Williamson, who came from Manchester, made telling speeches, and carried the meeting with them.

There was no opposition, and the resolution was carried almost unanimously. At the evening meeting, when the Grand Theatre was packed to overflowing, the resolution was carried unanimously, and there were continual rounds of clapping.

The speaking was very practical, and frequent references were made to Mr. Harcourt's illiberal attitude towards a question affecting the welfare of a constituency which, after all, he fails to represent. There was, however, no resentment at all from the audience.

All the distinguished people of the neighbourhood were present, including mayors, and mayresses, and councillors. One old gentleman was heard to say, "I am a life-long Liberal; I shall always vote Liberal, but this will be a blow to Mr. Harcourt." Two Liberal town councillors have stated that if Mr. Harcourt contests the seat again he will not be returned if the women are at work in the division, and anyone observing the keen attention given to the arguments, the appreciation of the points made, the eagerness to applaud, and the enthusiasm with which the resolution was carried at both meetings on Sunday, would say that they were right.

We sold 1,000 copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and the collections for the day reached £18. When this was announced the audience loudly applauded. They seemed to be proud of us, and they certainly thoroughly appreciated our fight in the cause of freedom.

LILLIAN WILLIAMSON.

MRS. PANKHURST IN DEESIDE.

Aboyne was greatly honoured last week by a visit from Mrs. Pankhurst, who consented to speak at two meetings, one on the village green and one in the grounds of Gordon Lodge, the home of Capt. and Mrs. Dugdale. Not a roof in the district was left unvisited to make the meeting known, and it is interesting that even the farm girls on quite out-of-the-way little crofts buried in the heather had heard about "Votes for Women," and, although it was harvest, were keen to come down to hear Mrs. Pankhurst.

In spite of rumours, and even threat of opposition, we found a most sympathetic audience waiting on the green, and directly Mrs. Pankhurst arrived the fine Aberdeen "Bon Accord" banner was unfurled, and the people flocked in from all directions. Visitors came over from the hotel and the surrounding houses, the village shopkeepers left their shops, eager-faced ghillies brought their dogs down, and even the children listened with the greatest attention.

A reporter came specially from Aberdeen, and full reports appeared in the *Aberdeen Free Press* next day.

Although it was a very cold evening the crowd of over 300 stood spellbound for more than two hours.

The people up here are very keen on politics, and would-be members of Parliament as a rule approach the district with feelings of apprehension, but Mrs. Pankhurst, by her sparkling wit and ready answers when heckled, brought forth the remark that she was "too clever for Aboyne." A vote of thanks was enthusiastically accorded at the end, and a quantity of literature and many copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* were sold.

The Monday following was a glorious day, and about 150 people, including some of the villagers who wanted to hear Mrs. Pankhurst again, assembled by invitation under the trees in a corner of Gordon Lodge grounds. Quite a number of the people came to listen out of curiosity, and some were even "anti," but they were all "for the vote" at the end of the meeting. Among those present were:—Lady Mary Turner, the Hon. Mrs. E. T. St. John and Miss Farquhar, the Hon. Barbara and the Hon. Eva St. John, the Hon. Mrs. Stewart Erskine, Mrs. Thursby Pelham, Mrs. Dick-Cunyngham, Mrs. Mitchell of Glassel, Colonel and Mrs. Boyce of Mount Stewart, Colonel and Mrs. Davidson, Mr. Gordon Muntz, Colonel Townley Caldwell, and others.

A great many badges were sold, besides a quantity of literature.

UNA S. DUGDALE.

LOCAL NOTES.

Barnes W.S.P.U.—We held our last open-air meeting for the season on Wednesday last on Barnes Green, when Mrs. Drummond came and addressed us. Councillor Watson, who presided, explained what our demand is, and referred to the numbers that will be enfranchised when our Bill is passed. Mrs. Drummond had a splendid hearing; her speech was greatly appreciated, and with one or two exceptions the audience was entirely sympathetic. At the close of the meeting Mrs. Drummond made a stirring appeal on behalf of Daisy Lord, and those present were most anxious to sign the petition for the reduction of the sentence, which an enterprising member had brought with her. Mrs. Drummond answered many questions, and received the thanks of some of the men for the masterly way in which she had dealt with their difficulties. These meetings have been held every week throughout the summer; the weather has been good, and we have never had to abandon a meeting. Our speakers also have always been well received. We are hoping to have a splendid meeting in Byfield Hall on October 7, when Miss Christabel Pankhurst is to speak; the tickets are out on sale and window bills are being shown. We hope that all sympathisers in the neighbourhood will do their very best to make the meeting known and to sell tickets.

ALICIA ROSE.

Hammersmith W.S.P.U.—Although a great number of our members and workers have been away on their holidays, we have been able to hold our open-air meetings every week all through August, and we shall continue to hold them every Wednesday evening at seven o'clock as long as the weather permits. Notices of place and speaker will be found in the Programme of Events, and we wish to appeal to all who live near to come and support the speakers. A meeting for members and friends will be held at 8, Edith-road, West Kensington, September 24, from four to six o'clock. A short address will be given by Mrs. MacLeod, and the work of the autumn campaign will be discussed. We badly need more workers in Hammersmith, so we hope all who can will come on the 24th. We are hoping to hold our rummage sale on Saturday, September 26, at 2.30, and we still want more parcels of left-off clothing, &c., in order to make it a success. Parcels should be sent, carriage paid, before September 23 to W.S.P.U. Secretary, 32, Phoenix Lodge-mansions, Brook Green, W. Helpers are needed for the sale. They should write as soon as possible to Miss C. House, 50, Duke's-avenue, Chiswick, who has charge of all the arrangements. During the sale a great deal of propaganda work can be done. Women can be interested in our cause who otherwise never have a chance of hearing about us. And last, but not least, we are to have a big public meeting in the Town Hall early in October. Further particulars will be given next week. In order to make this meeting a success numerically and financially, a great deal of work is needed. Weather permitting, we shall hold an open-air meeting every day during the last week in September. All who want to begin speaking should come and help at these meetings; we can promise them some grand times.

L. C. CULLEN.

Liverpool W.S.P.U.—A very successful "At Home" took place on the afternoon of the 9th inst., in the Temperance Hall at Southport, when a large and sympathetic audience listened to a most eloquent and convincing address from Mrs. Martel. Mrs. Morris presided. Mrs. Martel's concluding words "Get the vote we will; How depends upon you," were received with enthusiastic applause. Questions were asked by several constitutional Suffragists who were present. In the evening Mrs. Martel held the earnest attention of a crowd of holiday-makers for several hours on the sands.

BESSIE K. MORRIS.

Newcastle W.S.P.U.—A new branch of the W.S.P.U. has been recently formed at Newcastle-on-Tyne, by the two hon. secs. and eleven members of the North-Eastern Society for Women's Suffrage (affiliated to the National Union), who having endeavoured for some time to carry a resolution "that the time has now come for the National Union to adopt the policy of opposing the Government candidates at by-elections," and finding it impossible to do so, have left the National Union and joined the more militant force.

JANE ATKINSON.

Stoke-on-Trent W.S.P.U.—The incessant downpour of rain prevented our holding the open-air meeting in Wolfe-street on Thursday last, as had been arranged. Not only was it a keen disappointment to our members but also to the groups of people who, in spite of the rain, had assembled to hear us. This augurs well for the interest displayed in the women's movement. A meeting was, therefore, held at my house instead, at which it was decided that we should persevere in the matter of open-air meetings, and announce one to be held either Wednesday or Thursday evening next as the weather permitted. Our members and other sympathisers are enthusiastic, and we are hoping that Miss Gladice Keevil, the N.W.S.P.U. organiser who is in charge of the Midlands, will soon be able to spend a day or two here to address the people, and so place the local union on a firm footing. It has also been decided that each member forthwith canvasses the teachers at each of the day schools in this town. The sad case of Daisy Lord seems to be focussing attention on the women's agitation, and as women in a movement like this, working for political and legal justice to women, we are leaving no stone unturned to get the petition form filled.

We are hoping in time to obtain financial support for our Union, but at present we are hardly out of the stage of formation.

ADELINE REDFERN-WILDE.

Teatham W.S.P.U.—On Friday, September 4, another successful outdoor meeting was held. Miss Fraser and myself were again the chief speakers. Miss Mills opening the meeting by a short speech on what women demand. A large and sympathetic crowd listened without interruption, and an appeal was made to all to do what they could on behalf of Daisy Lord, a strong point being made of the injustice of the law with regard to women upon this question.

N. E. SMITH.

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To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—Until this year I have never reclaimed income-tax, though able to do so, feeling that as I could afford to leave the money in the hands of the Government it was well to do so. Since, however, a Government whose professed principle is "taxation and representation shall go together" prefers to imprison women rather than put aside one single day for the third reading of Mr. Stanger's Bill, it is impossible for any self-respecting woman to continue to act as I have done. I have therefore reclaimed the tax, and have much pleasure in sending it to your society.

Yours, &c.,

"CITIZEN NON-CITIZEN."

THE CASE OF DAISY LORD.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—Why not have petition forms at all our meetings for members of the audiences to sign? In this way we might get many signatures which would otherwise be lost.

Yours, &c.,

BESSIE SMITH.

Birmingham

[We shall be pleased to send petition forms to any organisers of meetings who apply for them.—*Ed.*, VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN THE WEST HIGHLANDS.

Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond, who have been staying on the West Coast of Scotland, addressed a meeting in the Schoolroom at Pirn Mill, Arran. There was a crowded audience, many having come several miles. The meeting was held by special request, Arran being the home of Mrs. Drummond, whose many friends there begged her to give them an opportunity of hearing about votes for women. The room, also used as church, concert room, library, &c., and lighted by one oil lamp, was barely large enough to contain all who wished to hear, and the meeting was a most enthusiastic one. Mrs. Drummond, from the chair, said it was a unique experience that one of their own people should be the first to bring the news of the women's campaign. Mrs. Pankhurst dealt with the laws as they affect women in Scotland, reminding her audience that though laws differed in the two countries, Scotswomen were no more politically free than their English sisters. A young man in the audience asked if Mrs. Pankhurst would sign a memorial to the Prime Minister, expressing regret for what she had done in connection with the agitation; Mrs. Pankhurst said Suffragettes were never sorry for anything they did, and that what had been done in the past was nothing compared with what might have to be done in the future if the Government persisted in its refusal to grant the reform women demanded. Liberals of the West Highlands, who well understood what it meant to fight for freedom, would thoroughly appreciate the women's determination in the struggle for political enfranchisement. Mrs. Drummond also addressed a meeting at Darnell (Ayrshire), where the lace workers were on strike. A great many women attended, and showed much interest. The meeting took place in the Market-square, and the large and enthusiastic audience asked for further meetings. One was accordingly held in the main street of New Milnes, where Mrs. Drummond again spoke to a warmly appreciative crowd. Mrs. Drummond also addressed large meetings at Harlesford, where the audience, forgetting that they were being drenched with rain, complimented her on standing through a heavy downpour; and at Galston, where a lady in the audience, who said Scotswomen had very little opportunity of learning about votes for women, was invited to form a local union, and thus create the opportunity she desired.

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TREASURER'S NOTE.

Since May, 1907, when the £20,000 Campaign Fund was started, we have raised over £16,000, and the whole of this sum has been expended upon the ever-developing, rapidly extending organisation of the Votes for Women Movement.

The Treasurer, who more than anyone else realises what this sum means of personal devotion and self-sacrifice, who knows the hidden story of these pounds, shillings, and pence, wishes she could adequately express her appreciation and admiration of the generosity of women. Nothing but her experience in the past could give perfect faith and courage in facing the autumn campaign with an almost depleted war chest.

The needs of the work are great. The Newcastle by-election calls for immediate extra expenditure. Will all those friends who can help send in their contributions at once? Will new friends especially realise how much they can help by taking their full share of the financial burden.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

	September 2 to September 8.
	£ s. d.
Already acknowledged	16,650 19 10
Mrs. Shurmer Sibthorp	0 5 0
C. Herbert, Esq. (By-election)	1 1 0
Miss Ella Stevenson	0 10 6
Mrs. M. E. Sleight	1 0 0
Mrs. B. Heap	0 1 0
Mrs. Jones-Brown	0 2 6
Lady Wright	1 0 0
A. Hughes, Esq.	0 6 3
X., Y., and Z.	7 5 4
Miss N. E. Smith	2 10 0
Miss J. McLeod	0 1 0
M. Colby	1 0 0
Miss E. J. Steele	0 1 0
Miss Brett	5 0 0
Mrs. Thirsky Pelham	1 0 0
Mrs. Macdonald	6 0 0
Miss Mary Hoc	0 10 0
Anonymous (per Miss Keevil)	10 0 0
Anonymous (per Miss Keevil)	2 0 0
Miss Dorman-Harris	0 5 0
Miss Gertrude Harraden	0 10 0
Miss Beatrice Harraden	1 0 0
Madame Ballantyne	0 1 0
Mrs. Baillie Guthrie (By-election)	1 0 0
Mrs. May (By-election)	0 2 6
Anonymous (By-election)	0 10 0
Mrs. Snelling (By-election)	0 1 0
Total	£16,732 3 1

SCOTTISH W.S.P.U.

Our first opening "At Home" will take place on Saturday afternoon, September 19, at 3.30, at 141, Bath-street, Glasgow. It is hoped that all our members will endeavour to be present.

On Saturday afternoon, September 26, Miss Dugdale has kindly consented to read a paper on "Children and the Police," after which there will be a general discussion.

The "At Homes" will now be held every Saturday afternoon, and it is expected that members will take this opportunity of introducing new members. As our work develops we intend to have "At Homes" on other afternoons and evenings of the week.

In October we are arranging for a special series of big meetings in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Helensburgh, &c., to be addressed by our leaders and others. Details will be given later.

By-election.

As there is to be a by-election in Newcastle, Mrs. Pankhurst will be glad of the help of any of our Scottish members who are willing to give their services. By-elections afford an opportunity to our workers of gaining much experience. Will friends who can help send their names and addresses to Miss Underwood, 141, Bath-street, Glasgow?

Funds.

We are urgently in need of money for our winter's work, and members are asked to do all they can to help the committee in this matter. Small and large subscriptions will be gladly received by our treasurer, Miss Burnet, 2, St. James-place, Glasgow.

M. HUNTER.

Mrs. Martel at Liverpool.

Miss Annie Marks writes a graphic description of the visit of Mrs. Martel to Liverpool, and of the splendid meeting of women who listened to the brilliant address of the "invader," as Mrs. Martel was called on the Liverpool posters the day following. Miss Marks says that, so enthusiastic were the crowd that they went from meeting to meeting, greeting the speaker at Liverpool on Saturday afternoon and later at New Brighton. "Your party are going the only way to win," "Shame on a British Government who imprison women"—these were some of the cries in the crowd.

On Tuesday afternoon there was a most successful "At Home," and Mrs. Martel's speech was punctuated with applause. The writer concludes by saying that Liverpool only needs to hear more of the leaders of the W.S.P.U. to become enthusiastically favourable to the movement.

Miss Whittaker, N.W.S.P.U., lectured last week to Bath working women in the rooms of the Social Democratic Federation on the importance of votes for women from the citizen, the industrial, and the sweated worker's point of view. It is hoped that similar lectures will be given throughout the winter.

Among other wreaths placed on the Cromwell Monument at Manchester on Thursday (the 250th anniversary of his death) was one from Miss Mary Gathorne and a number of other Manchester Suffragists "to the honour of a statesman who, when the welfare of the Commonwealth was at stake, in the interests of human justice did not hesitate to break the fetters of Parliamentary convention."—From the *Manchester Guardian*.

A member of the N.W.S.P.U. who visited Maskelyne and Devant's entertainment the other evening, during a thought-reading exhibition when members of the audience were asked to think of various subjects of interest to them, of course thought of her badge, "Votes for Women." On the correct reading of her thought by the entertainer the audience expressed much pleasure and approval.



The Labour-saving Washboard.

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Printed by THE ST. CLEMENTS PRESS, LIMITED, Newspaper Buildings, Portugal
Street, Kingsway, London, W.C., and Published for the Proprietors at 4,
Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.